FRAGIST

March, 1920

Women And The Peace Treaty

Harriot Stanton Blatch

The Suffrage Score

The Cop Tells The Truth

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Author of Shadows in the South Seas

Restrictive Legislation For Women In Industry

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(Incorporated 1918)

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SUFFRAGIST

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THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

METHOD OF AMENDING THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
ARTICLE V.

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

An Editorial

by

Alice Paul

THE ratification situation is now defined.

The Republican Party can grant or refuse the women of America the right to vote for the next President and Congress.

With the favorable vote on the amendment by the Democratic legislature of Oklahoma, and with the calling of a special session for ratification by the Democratic governor of West Virginia, the last states in the control of the Democrats, which offer any chance of ratification, have acted.

For the remaining necessary two states, or three states if Ohio's ratification is nullified by the holding of a referendum on her ratification, women must turn to Delaware, Washington, Vermont and Connecticut. All of these states have Republican governors and Republican legislatures. The Republican Party has therefore, from now on, the full responsibility for the enfranchisement of women. It is in the power of the Republican Party to complete ratification this week. Every hour of delay is, from this time on, due to Republican negligence or opposition.

With only two states lacking women are on the alert to see that there is no such delay as occurred over the last two votes in Congress. The Republican Party failed to reap the reward of its support in Congress by not completing the necessary majority and permitting the Democrats to give the last crucial vote. This delay of nearly a year and a half in giving the last two votes in Congress has caused women the past two years of effort and made necessary the difficult campaigns for special sessions.

A similar delay over the last two states now, a delay to the point where women are excluded from the November elections, is something which women intend shall not occur. Undoubtedly the amendment would be ratified promptly in 1921 when the legislatures of Tennessee, Florida, Washington, Vermont, Delaware and Connecticut could act regardless of constitutional difficulties, as in the first two states, and regardless of the unwillingness of their governors to call special sessions, as in the last four cases. This delay until next year, however, would mean the elimination of women from full power in our government for four years. Such an exclusion is of serious moment both to women and to our country.

We look to the Republican Party to complete at once the ratification of suffrage in those states under its control which have not yet acted. The Republican Party now has in its hands, through the chance of circumstances, the opportunity to hasten by months and even years the consummation of one of the great efforts for human freedom. We believe that it will not let this opportunity pass by unheeded.

Drawn by Nina E. Allender.

NOT TO BE FOOLED

He: You must get 36.
She: But you control the market.

34 Up and 2 To Go

Such is the Score—Counting a Legislature's Votes Before They are Cast and a Supreme Court Decision Before it is Handed Down

VICTORY in New Jersey and New Mexico has cleared the suffrage horizon. The way ahead is not without difficulty and peril, but it is plain.

West Virginia meets in special session the day the SUFFRAGIST goes to press. Since it is necessary to assume one action or the other, for the sake of putting a hopeful tone in this article, we are assuming prompt ratification. The Woman's Party has conducted a steady campaign upon legislators of this state since the special session was called. Because of the friendliness of the governor, of state leaders, and of a large majority of the legislature success is hoped for but not certain. For victory both parties would be able to claim a share of credit. The Governor is a Democrat and the legislature contains a Republican majority.

Action by Oklahoma, the house has ratified and the Senate's vote is expected, leaves Washington isolated among western states in its position of opposition. Except for Washington, the struggle centers in three of the thirteen original states of the Union. The fact, scarcely more than a chance, that the governors of Vermont and Connecticut are anti-suffragists has spoiled what might have been a 100 per cent ratification record for New England. It is also threatening to spoil the excellent record of the Republican Party.

In addition to these three states, Delaware alone outside of the solid south, has failed to act. Each of the four, Washington, Vermont, Connecticut and Delaware, are Republican controlled. The situation is therefore now entirely in the hands of the Republicans. That party can admit women to the polls in 1920 or exclude them, as it pleases.

How "Anxious" Is Governor Townsend?

In Delaware the Democratic state central committee met in February at the request of Homer Cummings and A. Mitchell Palmer, and went on record for immediate ratification, calling upon the governor to summon a session. The state is of course, however, in the control of the Republicans. On the 28th of February a meeting is scheduled in Delaware of national and local Republican leaders, including the chairman of the national Republican committee and the Delaware senators. Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, state chairman of the Woman's Party, who is leading the campaign, hopes to secure definite and effective action from this conference. On the 23rd of January Governor Townsend stated in a letter to Mrs. Hilles: "I am as anxious as you that Delaware shall be one of the 36 states to ratify the suffrage amendment and I am working to that end."

"As anxious as you" is a strong phrase to use to a suffragist.

In Vermont, where Elsie Hill is national organizer for the Woman's Party, the Republican state committee this week passed a resolution which she has for some time endeavored to secure, calling upon the governor for a special session and urging ratification. Governor Clement, it is believed, particularly in view of the pro-suffrage sentiment of his legislature, cannot refuse to accede to a direct request from his party for a session.

He has, however, up to this time opposed suffrage and vetoed a presidential suffrage bill passed by the present legislature when it was last in session.

Governor Holcomb "Declines"

Connecticut is about to have a state convention of the Republicans. It is hoped that it may be possible to secure a call from this convention upon Governor Holcomb to assemble the legislature in special session. How difficult the situation is is indicated in these statements by the Governor.

Last September, in response to a petition signed by a majority of legislators for a special session, he wrote, "I am of the opinion that none of the reasons urged create the 'special emergency' mentioned in our constitution which is the only authority given the governor to call a special session. I, therefore, decline to call one." He further explained his position, "There is a sharp division in sentiment in this state upon the question of woman suffrage which should be decided by a vote of the people of the state. This would have been possible if the amendment to our constitution relating thereto had been passed. The general assembly of 1919 defeated this amendment. Now the nearest approach to an expression of the sentiment of the people upon the question would be a vote of a general assembly whose members were elected knowing they were to act upon it. This was not the case when the present members were elected.

"A further reason urged was that woman suffrage was sure to come by the vote of other states whatever action this state might take; and that it would be wise to be with the majority, or, as it is sometimes expressed, 'get into the band wagon.' It will hardly be claimed that this creates the 'special emergency' mentioned in our constitution which authorizes the governor to call a special session."

Governor Hart of Washington, while making its expense a reason for not calling a special session, has, it is known, feared that other legislation might be brought up because of his inability to limit the session. The action of the Republican state central committee this week in passing a resolution declaring it the "wish of the committee that all members of the legislature give a written pledge not to consider any legislation other than the suffrage amendment to the constitution of the United

(*Continued on page* 19)

The Cop Tells the Truth

RETURNING to America after a year in Asia, during which I did not follow the details of our political evolutions, I am surprised and puzzled that women are not yet the voting equals of men throughout the nation. In the Orient we were of the mind that it had all been settled. Yet in the last few days I have read the refusal of several States to ratify the constitutional suffrage amendment. I suppose I say only what everyone knows that the reasons for this refusal, as of almost all the opposition to suffrage, are economic reasons.

One has but to examine the character of the opposition both in Congress, in legislatures, and in society, to discover that fear of lessened profits by business, of less pliable labor, of more difficult vote purchase and control, of added protection for women and children in industry, spur on the antagonists of women's political rights.

Not long ago the potable alcohol interests were in the van of these mercenaries, but their stunning defeat has weakened them and dried up the sources of their money power, so that they count for little in this endeavor. But the ordinary reactionaries are fearful that giving women equal suffrage with men will hurt their control of legislation. They think women are more moral, less grasping, more emotional and less hardheaded, more prone to the appeal of poverty and suffering, of stunted children and dying mothers. The very same people who are against free speech and for the "whiff of grape shot to put the fear of God in the hearts of common people," are hottest against woman voting.

I have been a few days in San Francisco, Chicago, New York, Baltimore and Washington. My acquaintances, lawyers, editors, business men and *rentiers,* whispered to me their condemnation of suffrage, either as already a law in their State, or as proposed.

"Didn't they put whiskey up to $25 a bottle? Ain't they made life a dam desert? Ain't they made the nights nowhere to go but home?" they asked me in Baltimore.

"If they get what they want, they'll be here thicker'n bees around an orange tree in flower," said a California Congressman in Washington. His State long ago passed a suffrage amendment, but he did not aid it. "They'll want to take part in federal legislation," he argued. "They never know when they're well off. The parties now have a hard enough time with the woman vote, but if it's universal, they'll break down the rules."

In New York the average business and professional man is fierce in his often-secret antagonism. He believes that the woman's vote means change in the established order, means "sentimentality" in politics as contrasted with regular party politics. He talks vaguely of "troublous times to come, and not wanting women mixing in what men must do."

The only hopeful viewpoint I got was from a fat gentleman of Wall Street who told me that "vote or no vote, women would dam well do what their men folk wanted or the money would cease flowing."

Just what will women do with the vote? Nobody knows. There are no old-enough, diverse enough precedents. I agree with Voltaire that women have as good brains as men, but history and habit has been against them. To have and to hold, in kitchen, factory or lap, as the mood, has been man's demand. Men have made the laws, the customs and the penalties. Women have complied, died or worn a letter.

Men are willing to trust the old ways, for results, though sometimes dire, are known. The record runs since Eve. But the vote is different. It is this nervous fear that pervades legislatures and commerce.

I passed a police box in Washington at which a year ago I had seen several women I knew waiting for a patrol wagon to remove them to prison. I had waited with them and so had had a word or two with the policeman who arrested them. The box is near the Cosmos Club on H street, and the very policeman was there again, ringing his station to get aid for a fallen horse.

I assisted in releasing the harness, and then ventured:

"A year ago I saw you pulling this box for something else."

"Is that so?" he said.

"Those suffragettes who burned the President's speeches and kept watch at the White House grounds. You pinched 'em and brought 'em through the square to this box."

He looked at me inquiringly to discern my opinions on such matters, but I was non-committal.

"I had to do it," he replied. "They was settin' fires around and raisin' hell with Woodrow, and the office said to get 'em. I hated to snag 'em. One was a ole lady and one was as pretty a blonde as you ever laid eyes on."

"After all, though, it wasn't worth while," I said, "because Woodrow himself came around to their way of thinking, and Congress passed the law."

"Now, that's just it. They did get it after all."

The horse ambulance came up and went away with its freight.

"Well, so long," I said in farewell.

But the policeman's mind had gone on the same track a little further. He walked a few feet down H street with me.

"I'll tell you this, though," he said finally, "they'd never got that Congress by pussyfootin' and sayin' please. Those old bucks give up nothin' to women except to prevent a fight or stop a fight. I believe in the law, and all that sort of guff, but when women want somethin' they can't get it by marryin' a guy or sittin' up evenin's while he talks about himself, they must go out and take it away. That's politics. Those other women who were for women votin' but kept nice and quiet, didn't get anywhere. The cops around the White House and the Capitol knew that. If the women get the vote everywhere, it'll be because they fight for it."

Perhaps the National Woman's Party which has been foremost in the struggle for women's political rights, has counted heads and feels assured that it will secure enough States. But if it is not absolutely certain, let it abate no effort now, for the enemies of suffrage were never bitterer in their determination to oppose it to the end.

Frederick O'Brien.

Women and the Treaty of Peace

"It Strikes Down the Sacred Political Rights of Women"

AT the end of the eighteenth century the world had two great revolutions, one political, the other industrial. The former carried political democracy a long step forward, the latter advanced capitalism to a more secure centralization.

In the industrial revolution which transformed the economic world of 1776 within the span of a generation, from a system of individual workers on hand loom and spinning wheel to interdependent employees tending steam driven machines housed in factories, women passed out of the realm of individual work in their own cottage, away from the farm or manor house, where they had joined a group of their neighbors working under the guidance of some efficient housewife. They passed out of all this to the centralized, specialized, workshop or mill, and became "hands" under the directorship of men. Working women passed from a woman's world to a man's world. Women as directors let one by one all the great avenues of creative, national wealth slip from them; women as workers passed from surroundings which responded to their point of view, to an environment absolutely alien to their deepest instincts.

Neither as workers nor as directors did they put up a fight to retain their kingdom. The folly of this policy of *laissez faire* soon began to develop. Men drew not only adult women but the tiny wards of women into service to the whirring machine. Weaving and spinning became as deadly to the race as disease and famine. The eighteenth century woman failed in her industrial obligations, in her duty of leadership.

In the same way she failed to grasp political opportunity. In 1776 the democratic revolt of the modern world began. An isolated woman here or there, a woman of vision, spoke out for universal freedom, but no group of women inspired with the passion of liberty, no group strongly knit together by consciousness of the need of political expression for the protective half of the race, gathered itself together in any resourceful, effective body. The great revolutions of the eighteenth century did not sweep women up and carry them forward, but passed over them like cars of Juggernaut.

Two Women Only

In the United States, another time of rich opportunity came in the reconstruction period after the Civil War. But only two women saw the harvest awaiting the gleaners. The majority saw nothing but chance for self-effacement. The opportunity bore for women no fruit richer than a witticism, one might almost argue. Wendell Phillips having written to Elizabeth Cady Stanton in severe criticism, of her "selfish course" in asking for the ballot for her sex, said "This is the negro's hour"; the question came back to him in rapier thrust—"And do you conceive the negro race as composed entirely of men?" But of what use is such a blow in the solar plexus of your enemy, when with you stands but one woman against a nation!

Again, women missed their opportunity and postponed for half a century the entranchisement of their sex in the United States. They made necessary a long and weary battle in which the courageous ones of their sex suffered all the indignities which have ever been the portion of those who have fought their way from the insecure position of a minority to the solid ground of a majority. They faced mobs, they served terms in jail, and won at last what could have been easily attained had women in solid phalanx felt their obligation, seized their opportunity in the reconstruction days of the sixties.

Men Alone Sat At the Peace Table

Again in 1918 came days of reconstruction, the profoundest, the most far reaching the world has ever lived through. Again women hesitated when the hour for action struck. The very men who had failed to keep the world out of war, even if they did not actually rush nation after nation into the conflict, these very men, when the time came for establishing peace on earth, were allowed by women to arrogate full power to themselves to determine how much goodwill should reign between peoples and peoples. Men, men alone sat at the Peace Table to discuss the rebuilding of humanity broken and crushed. No woman was asked by any government to join in council at Paris. Again women were badly led, and failed to respond to the compelling push of a prodigious obligation, failed to seize an opportunity.

The fighting male alone sat in the Peace Conference. He produced—how could it be otherwise—a masculine document. I ask each dissenter from the accusation—have you read it? If not, feel not ashamed, for a nation nearer the scene of conflict, more deeply concerned than the people of the United States, "Received the Treaty without reading it." John Maynard Keynes tells us this of the British. It was not issued by the Conference in popular form, and free for the asking, as it ought to have been. Far from that, it was denied to the public, and denied longest to the people of America. Many weeks after I had read it in full in Europe, United States Senators, in order to acquaint themselves with its exact provisions, were reduced to "swiping" a copy carried across the ocean in some man's inside pocket. Then the matter was out. Write to the Secretary of the United States Senate for Document No. 49, and you will have the Treaty of Peace with Germany and the Covenant of the League of Nations in your hands. It is a small pamphlet in coarse print, consisting of 194 pages. It is easy reading, you can compass it at one sitting. All this, of course, is quite the reverse of the general impression. The leaders have always spoken of the work as if it were very

abstruse, with thoughts and facts lost in intricacies. Men like to make their products complicated, they think it adds to the importance and scares women off their preserve. The Peace Treaty does not extend to twenty tomes, nor is it written in Greek.

Well, now, having read the Treaty, let us look at some of its details. I said it was a masculine instrument. I must prove the accusation.

The Husband "Opts" for the Wife

The Treaty of Versailles opens by laying down the boundaries of Germany, and in the very first paragraph (Art. 27), certain sections of territory are passed over to Belgium. The shifting of some of this territory without a plebiscite being taken is not a point I wish to dwell upon, but I do wish to point out a gross injustice perpetrated upon women in connection with each and every change of national allegiance. It is provided in Article 37 that within two years after the transfer of the territory to Belgium, German nationals over eighteen years of age will be allowed "to opt for German nationality," but "option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age."

Now, that is a provision subversive of the wife's personal rights and it is humbuggery at the same time. It is amazing that in the twentieth century a body of men could be found to ignore the national desires of women in such a way. And it is humbug to try to make it appear that the mother has under the Treaty any power whatsoever to decide the destiny of her children. Now, as this Article 37 illustrates what occurs every time territory is transferred under the provisions of the Treaty, let me take up another point. Persons who have exercised this right to opt for German nationality "must within the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to Germany." (Line 7, Art. 37). We will make no comment on the light-hearted masculine way of annihilating a home by a flourish of a pen, and adding to the refugees of Europe, but will confine ourselves to looking at the matter from the point of view of the woman concerned. All the territories transferred are on the border line between nation and nation. In fact, most of them have been swung to and fro across political boundaries at the end of other wars. We always find, of course, in such regions mixed marriages. Let us suppose a wife in Malmédy is of Belgian origin, while her husband is German. Perhaps there had been disagreements between them; the war might easily have added to the friction in the family. The end of the war may have found husband and wife living apart. But under the Treaty the husband is allowed to "opt for Germany," the wife having no option. Further, not only is she then declared German under the Treaty, but she must clear out of her old home and go to Germany within a year.

And just such masculine sex-bias repeats the same ruthlessness to women in, for instance, Moresnet (Arts. 34-37), in Kreise Eupen (Arts. 34-37), the whole of the Czecho-Slovak State (Art. 85), Poland (Art. 91), the Free City of Danzig (Art. 106), Schleswig (Art. 113). Is all this twentieth century civilization or Stone-Age barbarism? The cruelty is due to the fact that men drew together and acted alone uninfluenced by women. Women, all women, should have risen as a unit in the autumn of 1918, and insisted upon representation at the peace table. They let their opportunity slip, because they did not feel keenly enough, deeply enough their peculiar obligation.

As the eye runs over the pages of the treaty, more than once the cheering words referring to a plebiscite stand out, "All persons without distinction of sex * * * will have the right to vote." Ah, here, we say, is something up to date. Alas, in every case the woman already had the right to vote. This is German territory being sliced up, and German women were enfranchised by the revolution. The men at Paris accepted the political status of the German woman as they found her wherever a plebiscite was taken. But where they themselves were creating a new franchise, as in the case of "opting" for this or that national allegiance, they conceive of no controlling voice except that of the husband and father. They permit the wife to vote that she desires Silesia (Arts. 88, 91), to pass to Poland, and her side having won, they then deprive the woman of further self-determination and confer on her husband, he having voted that Silesia remain German, the power to opt that both he and his wife shall bow to his God-given—no, man-given self-determination and break up their home and go to Germany. "All persons without distinction of sex" has quite a twentieth century tang to it—at the peace table sat a phrase-maker—but the deeds following the words are mediaeval.

Degraded From Citizenship

The conference had the opportunity to put in a powerful stroke for the right of self-determination for women. Such was the spirit of the world that a stand for political justice to them would have passed unchallenged. In every new state formed there should have been exacted equality for women in all political rights. But far from doing this, the indifferent men at Paris permitted under some of their re-arrangement of allegiances, millions of women to be degraded from a plane of full rights of citizenship to a level of complete political impotence. The Provinces of Alsace-Lorraine, for instance, were taken from Germany, and quite rightly, without the slightest move being made inside the conference to safeguard to the women of those provinces the political liberty they would have enjoyed had they remained under German domination. I make the charge that the group of men responsible for the Versailles treaty nowhere extended the freedom zone for women, but ruthlessly, callously, robbed them of their inalienable right of self-government where it had been already secured.

The treaty of peace with Germany strikes down the sacred political rights of women. And women let slip the opportunity even to protest.

Harriot Stanton Blatch.

Winning New Jersey

V-I-C-T-O-R-Y

V=Votes that elected Edwards—a suffrage governor.
I=Influence of Glover—suffragist speaker of the House
C=Co-operation of Mackay—leader of suffrage forces in Senate.
T=Turning point marked by support of Hershfield, majority leader in House.
O=Opposition weakened through active participation of U. S. Senators Frelinghuysen and Edge.
R=Retreat of opponents stimulated by public support of measure.
Y=Yielding of the two powerful opposition bosses—Nugent and Baird.

MIRACLES happen sometimes—but the ratification of the Suffrage Amendment on February 10th by the New Jersey Legislature was not the result of a miracle.

Every organizer of the Woman's Party who had worked in the state whispered in my ear, "Don't try New Jersey—it will never ratify." It was therefore with reluctance that at the bidding of Miss Paul and Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, New Jersey state chairman, I invaded the territory of the enemy and went to Trenton, where on September 30th both the Republican and Democratic state platform committees were sitting.

Despite all our efforts the Republicans that day in open convention under the leadership of Republican state chairman, Edward Caspar Stokes, declared in favor of a referendum, though each individual who had given a pledge to his constituents to support the suffrage amendment was left free to do so.

In significant contrast to this, the Democrats, holding convention just across the street, declared for immediate ratification. This was done upon the persistent demand of the Democratic candidate for governor, Edward I. Edwards, at the probable cost of the support of the most influential Democratic boss in the state, James R. Nugent, who in open convention fought the issue bitterly and pledged his 12 Essex county assembly candidates against immediate ratification. They ran on that issue.

We watched the election returns on November 4th with acute anxiety. It was a critical point, for we had much to gain and everything to lose. The decision brought joy in one respect. Edwards, a suffrage governor, was victorious, but alas! the result showed that the Republicans, who had adopted the referendum plank in their platform, had carried the legislature. They had a majority in the Senate of 15 to 6 and in the Assembly of 33 to 27—and among the 27 Democratic members were the 12 Nugent men from Essex.

We had only a fighting chance at best—but we set about the task resolutely. As usual, the first duty was to obtain an authentic report of the position of each newly elected man. We had secured pre-primary pledges from the 15 Edwards Democrats, as well as a few from some staunch suffragists on the Republican side, but only a very few, for not only was their state chairman opposed, but the Republican boss of South Jersey—former Senator David Baird, whom we knew would fight us to the end—through his tremendous influence.

In a few days our poll was completed. The Senate showed a bare but safe majority of one, for there we needed eleven votes. In the House our poll was much less encouraging. We needed 31 votes out of 60—and we could count only 25 positive yeas. Where and how to get 6 more supporters out of a Republican opposition was the bewildering—almost stupefying question. Political pressure—both national and local—was the one way out. The time had passed for meetings at which to arouse sentiment of constituents—only pressure of the most intimate nature would move a vote to our side.

We first set about to choose our leaders in the respective houses. We wanted wide-awake, active militants—parliamentarians who would not demand the assurance of the usual excess number of votes before moving. Men who would take up the fight eagerly, revel in the chance of victory, and with odds against them enter enthusiastically into a neck to neck race.

At a dinner given by the National Woman's Party at Newark on December 10th we accomplished our purpose—Senator Wm. B. Mackay, Republican, made an impassioned speech, publicly accepting the responsibility of leading our forces in the upper House. At this same dinner the newly chosen speaker-elect of the Assembly, W. Irving Glover, Republican, pledged his unequivocal support and straight-forwardly stated that he would do all in his power to bring New Jersey into the line of ratified states. The happiest moment of the evening arrived when Republican majority leader of the House, Harry Hershfield, made known his position on the suffrage issue and expressed his desire that New Jersey ratify. Great applause greeted his words that the backbone of opposition had been broken and that he anticipated victory and would exert every influence to that end. The day after the dinner Mr. Hershfield permitted to be given out from our headquarters a statement declaring that he would lead the fight in the House.

The next day I went to Washington. The interest of the two United States senators from New Jersey as well as the congressmen had to be recruited. Soon letters and telegrams were pouring into the state from Washington. The resolution passed unanimously by the Republican national committee in Washington on December 10th did much to strengthen our position and before long the

importance of the issue from a national standpoint began to dawn on the vision of some New Jersey Republicans.

The situation took on a more hopeful aspect—a few finishing touches only were needed—but just whose magic touch to summon was the problem.

We were at a standstill. Two votes were still needed to reach the required 31. Then something happened.

Inauguration day came and with it the tactical error of the opposition which acted as a boomerang and assured the House majority leader his position as head of his party. It gave into our hands the strategic parliamentary advantage—which we had coveted and desired for so long. An unexpected resolution calling for a referendum on all constitutional amendments, including pending ones, wedged in among routine measures, was surreptitiously introduced on inauguration day by Assemblyman Coles of Camden and by a viva voce vote passed before more than 15 members knew what had happened. Twelve Nugent men from Essex and three Baird men from Camden were responsible for the railroading through of this resolution. This act of course was a planned and deliberately malicious thrust at suffrage.

The House adjourned and the anti-suffragists believed they had scored a point. The reckoning came later. Editorials appeared in papers all over the state denouncing such methods. On the following Monday the House reconsidered the Coles' resolution with a vote of 44 to 13—and we proceeded with our fight. The ratification resolution was introduced immediately after and sent to the Federal relations committee, which was favorable to our measure—4 to 1. The referendum resolution had gone to the same committee.

Then the problem came of getting our resolution reported out first. We did not have a sufficient number of votes to hazard the chance of having the referendum resolution considered before ours, though some of our supporters preferred this procedure. A conference of leaders was called, to which I summoned Miss Paul, for the political leaders had had little comparative experience in handling constitutional amendments, while she had sponsored ratification in two dozen states.

A hearing before the committee was held on February 2nd. Our state chairman, Mrs. Hopkins, and United States Senator Selden Spencer of Missouri, who came from Washington, made splendid appeals for suffrage. That evening our resolution passed the Senate 18 to 2 as a result of the Republicans having caucused in its support, after an appeal had been made to them to do so by Senator Spencer. There was no dissenting Democratic vote in the upper House. That same evening the House rejected the minority report of the committee and accepted the favorable majority report on our measure. It was voted to a second reading and made the first order of business for Monday evening, February 9th.

That week influenza seized various members of the legislature and four of our most ardent supporters were ill. Their absence meant defeat. Every day we anxiously inquired after their welfare. For a time it seemed we would never have our 31 yeas together.

The day before the vote the National Republican Senatorial and Congressional committees sent a representative, Mr. Frank Barrow, from Washington to our aid. He worked with the doubtful Republican members.

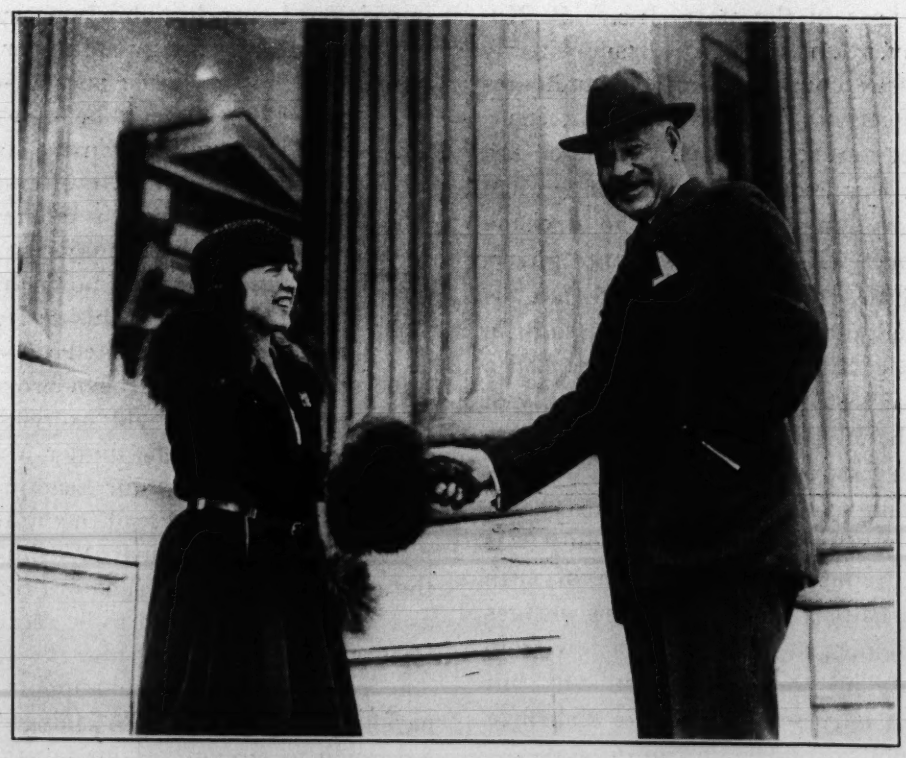
At last the long-looked for moment arrived. At 8 o'clock on Monday evening the legislature which was either to reject or accept the ratification resolution convened.

The fight began with opposing men as aggressors and soon one resolution after another was being rushed to the speaker's desk as a subterfuge of delay. Roll calls were asked on each and every occasion, and as we strained our ears for the yeas and nays we received each time a shock at the transference of a vote. A roll call to postpone lacked only one of the necessary 31 votes.

Debate lasted until 1 o'clock Tuesday morning—five hours of continuous fiery combat—and then a motion to move the previous question fell like a pall on the troubled assembly. With trembling, tired hands we turned to our last spotless roll call and began to mark the records of men on the sands of time. Clear and decisive came the yeas—inaudible and slow came the nays, and after them all the called, "Joint resolution number one adopted—34 to 24."

Silence followed for long seconds and then the wild, almost hysteric cheers of women reverberated through the halls. Never had there been such a demonstration of joy in the New Jersey capitol and out of the galleries poured countless smiling women—bearing banners of victory, to take their places among the liberated peoples.

Betty Gram.



Betty Gram and Senator Frelinghuysen agree it was a close call

Legislation For The Woman Wage-Earner

Shall new protective laws be made or old repealed? Shall women be eliminated from dangerous industries? Or shall dangers be removed where pay is low and women where pay is high? Is the father's health less important than the mother's? Shall men alone decide these things?

SHALL we ask for new laws or advocate repeal of old laws that restrict, protect, advantage, handicap—the word you use will depend upon the way you view—the right or fight of the adult woman to win her bread in industry?

The controversy has grown in volume and intensity since the war, doubtless because during the war women were drafted into many fields of employment dominated before almost entirely by men. It is as if the uneasy stirrings and incoherent mutterings noticeable for many years over the bracketing of adult women with children in efforts to promote protective legislation, had suddenly broken out into a wide-awake, clear-cut contest.

A certain class of wage-earning women are making an insistent contention that a woman's chance to earn a living is as essential to her welfare as protection while she is earning it. With vehemence they demand that this chance shall not be jeopardized by discriminating laws. In this demand they have the backing of certain groups of non-wage earning women whose political slogan is: "No favors, no handicaps."

Child and Woman

This phase of the controversy only marks the complete recognition of the fundamental difference between the principle underlying legislation governing the child wage-earner and that controlling—or that which should control—laws affecting the adult woman. For we want to get, and keep children, out of industry. It is a mar on our civilization that the child should in any case have to share in the burden of feeding, clothing, housing, and caring for the nation. But the disinterested promoters of laws designed to control conditions of woman labor have never wished to curtail the adult woman's opportunities for earning a livelihood. Yet it is unquestionably true that these promoters have frequently bracketed adult women with children in drafting proposed laws and while by that act they have stressed the need of preventing industry from crippling its women workers, they have overlooked the equal obligation of preventing legislation from needlessly crippling the woman's opportunities for making a living.

No doubt there is an exaggerated idea as to the extent to which proposed laws of this sort actually got on to the statute books. Twenty-four states have a Federal law limiting the hours of children to eight, while only nine states impose the same limitation on the work of adult women; forty-three states restrict the work of children to daylight hours, whereas but thirteen states restrict the employment of women in the same manner. The laws covering hazardous occupations—with two or three exceptions—do not in their specific provisions bracket women with children. On the other hand, the minimum wage laws all include women, though most of the laws are so drawn that separate wage rates may be established for women and for children.

As Between Man and Woman

Furthermore, the bracketing that actually appeared on the statute books had not yielded such net results in curtailing opportunities for employment as to raise more than sporadic protests. Doubtless the reason for this lay in the fact that before the war two-thirds of the women employed in manufacturing processes—to which most of the legislation applied—were engaged in about half a dozen industries that had been built up on the assumption of an ever present supply of woman labor. A large proportion of the other women in manufacturies were in industries closely allied to these. The restrictions imposed on the employment of woman labor were not such, on the whole, as to make it profitable for such industries to substitute men for women.

The other industries, up to our entrance into the world war, had acquired the habit of male labor. Women were to be found in these industries, but they were not regarded as a "woman's industrial sphere," so laws that put the grown woman in a losing race with a grown man for a job were passed usually with the sanction of the public, frequently with the approval of organized labor, and without much protest on the part of the employers, who depended principally on men. The laws went through, too, with no noticeable opposition from the few women workers who were conscious of the fact that they were regarded as interlopers by their brother workers in these "men's industries." For the most part such women were unmindful of the historical fact that in the transfer of work from home to factory men had "invaded" woman's work, so that for women to share in work that had been man's was but a fair exchange of livelihood opportunities.

The Health of the Father

Through this loose mesh of circumstances the torrents of state laws carried legislative incongruities which have since the war assumed an importance that arrests attention. There is an assumption in some of the laws that there is less damage to the nation in crippling, blinding or deafening a man than in doing the same injury to a woman; that the health of a father is not essential to a child's right to be bred and born and raised in health; that the mother's health alone counts in the issue.

(*Continued on page* 20)

What We Men Ha

IT'S funny about women. The trouble is, for one thing, if you don't mind my saying so, that they can't make up their minds. Men come to quick conclusions, you know, and naturally the fluttering indecision of a woman's mind irritates them. I want to illustrate what I mean by "quick conclusions."

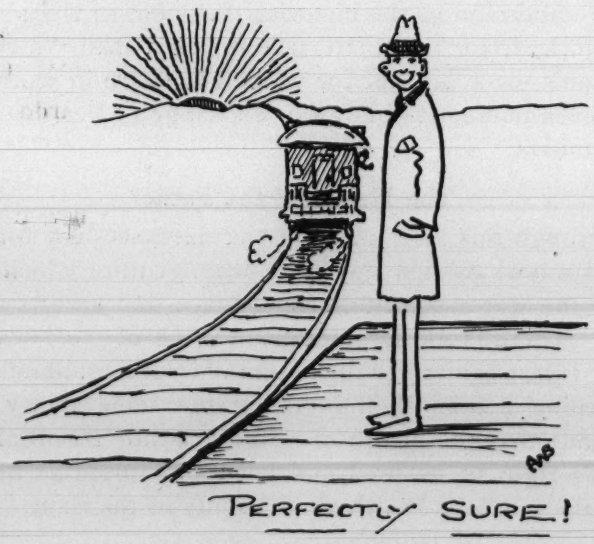
I used to commute from New York City to Long Island. You had to change at a junction from an electric train to a steam train. (Or else it was from a steam train to an electric train—for men's memories are notoriously exact where women's are flighty.) Anyway, you changed cars—at a junction. Then there came a day when the road was completely electrified. (Bodeful phrase—for so was I, later.) At all events, though the trains still stopped at the junction, you changed no more.

I was frightfully busy in those days, what with going to the office in the morning and coming home again at night, and the officials of the road neglected to inform me personally of this affair of theirs. So I certainly couldn't be expected to know about it. Well, riding home one night, the train stopped at the junction, and I got out. Nobody else did. I looked up at the car windows with pained impatience. At first so much mass stupidity rather provoked me. "Good heavens," I said to myself, "is it possible that these are human beings; is it possible that they don't know enough to get out and change cars?" Then the humor of the thing manifested itself and I laughed heartily. I laughed right heartily, as the train pulled out, I stood laughing until it vanished. I waited for the steam train (Yes, it must have been a steam train I was waiting for!) What a good joke, I thought. All those poor deluded fish whirling away to the end of nowhere, and I, I, I, the only one of them with intelligence enough to stay where I am!

I stayed where I was for an appreciable length of time. Finally some one came and led me away, and told me how I could get back to New York.

Now, I told this story to a woman. "But," she said, "why did you stay on the platform when you found no one else got off?" "Why," I said, "I knew I was right. I knew they were all wrong." That seemed obvious enough. I had been the victim of great laxity on the part of the railroad officials, but, after all, one must have character. If you know you're right, you're right aren't you?

But, can you believe it, the woman I was talking to burst out laughing. And she told a lot of other women and they all said, "If that isn't typical." They also said I had acted "like an Auntie," though I'm sure I don't know what they meant.



It's that strange indecision of character in women. I suppose they'd flutter about and ask questions. And, by George, they wouldn't *know* they were right, even when they were wrong.

By the way, that asking-questions business has always irritated me very much. Women would ask *anybody* a question. When I was younger and used to take my sister to parties, she would stop and ask *anybody* about streets and carlines. It was very embarrassing. But women have no sense of shame. They say, "He looks like a nice, kind old man. Let's ask him." Of course, sometimes, they find out.

But that's beneath the pride of a man. Besides, he knows. He's got to. He's a man. Of course he knows. I've *never* asked people how to get *anywhere*—and often, often I've got there.

But, alas! We have to put up with women nowadays, in business, in industry, in politics, all along the line. And then, there's last July 1. Of course one can't forget. Men have awfully tender hearts, that way. Women simply can't understand it at all. But I frequently sit and sigh.

But then, you can't sit and sigh *all* the time. It becomes monotonous. And you get tired smuggling cylindrical bundles of newspapers under your coat after

Have Discovered

dark. Besides, some of the wood alcohol cartoons have scared me—really scared me.

Clubs? Why you can imagine, can't you? It's all changed. And I used to think that I and my fellows were amazingly brilliant conversationalists.

Today you can still smoke—so far—and play dominoes and read a paper. Then you can talk politics. That's a fascinating way to spend an evening—they tell me. You can go to a show. You can go to—the movies.

It isn't that I couldn't take it or leave it alone. It's the principle of the thing.

I said that to a friend. We've all been doing so. "Oh, well now," he replied, "after all you know, there are compensations. I," he continued, "I've been spending evenings at home, and, by George, you know, I've found my wife a remarkably intelligent woman." I, too, was surprised at this discovery.

"Do you know," my friend continued, "It's quite remarkable what a mind she's got. I don't believe I really ever appreciated it. Why, now, do you know," he reiterated, "about my income tax return. That's a sample. She straightened out a point I'd been scratching my head over all evening. I believe," he concluded, "that there *is* something in this 'companionship' stuff after all."

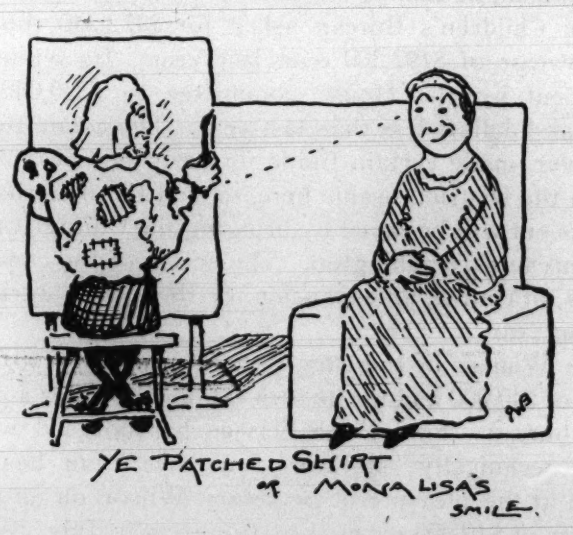
Well, I was glad to hear, for their sakes, that women were improving.

As a matter of fact, I know a lot of men who are infernal bores. Of course there must be women bores, too. But thinking over most of the women I've met recently, I can't say I know many. Yes, I've been going out more,

to parties and dinners and so on. Life is more interesting, that way. One meets a lot of clever women. Oh, of course, I know they know absolutely *nothing* about poker or penny ante or baseball or racing charts or all those important things. But they seem to know something about business and education and politics—not the party kind. In fact, one woman I know set me right on a clause in the Constitution of the United States the other night. Actually. She rather floored me. She's rather bright that way, rather quick, rather pretty too. Then she was talking about a play, "Lincoln," by a man called Drinkwater. (I suppose the name appeals to them.) Talked very well too. Women seem to *pounce*—if I may say so—on the essential points in a discussion.

I believe, too, that husbands and wives are going around together more. Home conversations seem to be much more lively—in a different sense. Something's added to life, decidedly, since it has become a matter of course for the ordinary woman to play a distinct part in the economic scheme.

There's more zest, more—well, companionship—more pleasantness, cordiality and honesty, a tendency toward broader viewpoints, a more energizing exchange of ideas. A lot of fusty, dusty, tedious customs, habits and rulings are getting a housecleaning. Then, you know, this old superiority idea, about man—after all, I've come to see it



as pretty ridiculous. Men—that is, of course, *some* men, have certainly been rather supersensitive, clumsy, morose and bigoted bipeds in the past. And, I'll tell you, I believe women have been laughing at them, secretly, all down the ages. They say that's the secret of Mona Lisa's smile. Of course you know the picture! Well—er—it wasn't the hidden musicians that Leonardo had brought in to play behind the curtain while she was being painted. Oh no, not at all! No! She was looking at Leonardo—even at him—when she thought he wasn't looking. That's all. But—at least—he caught her smile!

Well, I must cut this short and hurry out. Evenings at home or in mixed gatherings are certainly awfully sane and sociable nowadays. One looks forward to them. And then, the woman—really singularly intelligent, she is—who told me all that about Leonardo and Mona Lisa—you see, she's to be at this dinner tonight!

William Rose Benet.

Bills Before Congress

EXCEPT for committees considering appropriations, the treaty, the railroads and such, congressional committee rooms present nowadays a deserted appearance. Committee members rarely stray into them, committee clerks wear an air of good will toward men (very rare in committee clerks) and only the files seem overburdened.

Bills on subjects as vital to women as child labor, health and education have been introduced, referred to committees, and various hearings have been held. That is as far as action has gone.

Appropriations

The raising and the spending of the billions of dollars needed for the machinery of government is of course important to every woman in the country. Of special significance to women, however, are the appropriations for the two bureaus peculiarly their own—the Children's Bureau and the Woman in Industry Service, both in the Department of Labor.

The Children's Bureau asked for $472,340 this year, an increase of $192,300 over last year. Its request has been cut by the House committee to $2 0,040, nine thousand dollars less than last year. The committee has, however, made certain funds formerly not available for use in the District, usable here, so that the nine thousand dollars cut will be saved by bringing the Chicago office of the bureau to Washington. The action of the committee means, of course, no expansion for the bureau during the coming year.

The Woman in Industry Service asks for $150,000 instead of $40,000 and for its own establishment as a permanent bureau. So far the Service has not had what is called technically "statutory existence," but has functioned at the pleasure of Secretary Wilson on an appropriation of $40,000 granted by Congress in July, 1919, for one year. Its chief, Miss Mary Anderson, thinks working women important enough always to have a bureau devoted to their special needs with a woman at its head, and suggests that $150,000 isn't too much to spend for the working women of the country, when $6,000,000 is asked for the animal industry.

Some of Miss Anderson's reasons for believing there is need for the Bureau are these:

> "Most of the 12,000,000 women wage-earners of the United States are paid less than a living wage.
>
> "Millions of women receive less pay than men receive for work of the same or corresponding skill; some of them for skilled work receive less than men receive for unskilled work.
>
> "Millions of women work long hours, in shops that are unsanitary and unsafe.
>
> "These facts need the careful study of women experts and a government policy, formulated by women, to remedy such evils."

Protection of Mothers

The Sheppard-Towner bill, endorsed by the Children's Bureau, an attempt to make motherhood reasonably safe in the United States, has so far had no hearing. It lies in the files of the Senate committee on public health and national quarantine and in the House committee on interstate and foreign commerce. A hearing before the former is promised for the spring.

The bill provides for:

> 1. Federal aid to states undertaking measures for the protection of mothers and babies under the act. Amount of appropriation, $2,000,000 for the first year, to be gradually increased until it reaches $4,000,000 annually. Apportioned among states proportionately, provided each state appropriates a like sum. In addition, $480,000 annually appropriated to be distributed among states without guarantee of like sum.
>
> 2. Administration of act under federal board of maternal and infant hygiene consisting of the Secretary of Labor, chairman; the chief of the Children's Bureau, executive officer; the Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Service and the U. S. Commissioner of Education. Plans for state work must be submitted to this board.
>
> 3. State administration of the act to be in the hands of a specially created board of Maternal and Infant Hygiene or of the state board of health when it has connected with it a child welfare division. The federal board may require state boards to appoint advisory committees, in which case at least half of their members must be women.
>
> 4. Work done under the act must include instruction in the hygiene of maternity and infancy by public health nurses, consultation centres and the provisions of medical and nursing care for mothers and babies at home or at a hospital.

Child Labor

The provision of the last revenue bill taxing the profits of a concern doing interstate business which employs child labor is now before the U. S. Supreme Court for decision as to its constitutionality. A decision is expected in March.

Women Workers for Uncle Sam

Women in government employ are affected by two bills now before Congress, the McLean bill and the Fess bill. The provisions of these bills were discussed in last month's SUFFRAGIST, but a new situation in regard to the McLean bill has since arisen.

The McLean bill would require that appointing officers accept candidates in the order of their standing on the eligible list, without regard to sex. But the veteran preference law recently enacted, places any ex-soldier who gets an average of 65 per cent on a civil service examination (instead of the usual 70 per cent) automatically at the top of the list. Strangely enough, therefore, the McLean bill, introduced to end sex discrimination in government employ, would intensify it. It will probably be allowed to die in committee.

Education

The Smith-Towner bill creating a department of education under a cabinet officer, likewise still languishes in the files of committees. Joint hearings held last summer have been followed by no action.

The National Education Association, which strongly endorses the bill, summarizes its provisions in this way:

> 1. A federal Department of Education, with a member of the cabinet at its head, is created.
>
> 2. An appropriation of $100,000,000 is provided for division

(*Continued on page* 19)

1920 Victories and Defeats

FIFTEEN legislatures have considered the ratification of the suffrage amendment since the first of January. Eleven states have been added to the ratification roll and four states have refused to ratify.

The states that have ratified since the first of the year are Kentucky, Rhode Island, Oregon, Indiana, Wyoming, Nevada, New Jersey, Idaho, Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma.

The states that refused to ratify are Mississippi, South Carolina, Maryland and Virginia. Referendum resolutions were passed by the legislatures of Mississippi and Virginia. These referendum resolutions were admittedly but empty ceremonies and evasions.

Every ratification, each indeed of these sessions, has meant a concentrated campaign. The political process of these ratification campaigns has been the exact opposite of the campaign which secured the passage of the amendment through Congress.

For six years the effort was to secure pressure from the country upon Congress. Once the passage of the amendment was won, Congress and national leaders became the tools with which to secure favorable action from the states.

Ratification in Rhode Island, Kentucky and New Jersey was by regular sessions of the legislatures. Neither in Rhode Island nor Kentucky was the situation such as to be assured without vigorous work. The Woman's party campaign in Kentucky was directed by Miss Edith Callahan, state chairman. Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, member of the national executive committee; Miss Mabel Vernon, secretary of the Woman's party. and Miss Sophia Dulles went to the state from National Headquarters to assist the local workers. In Rhode Island the campaign was under the direction of Mrs. Michael Van Beuran, state chairman, and Miss Elsie Hill, national organizer, who spent over a month canvassing the legislature and preparing for its convening. The New Jersey victory came only after a very difficult fight, which is described by Miss Betty Gram in this issue of the SUFFRAGIST.

Governors Give In

The special session in Oregon was the fruit of prolonged effort. After the amendment went through in June the Woman's party sent an organizer, Miss Vivian Pierce, to Oregon, who secured from a majority of the legislators a petition to the governor for a special session, and resolutions from all parts of the state. This work was followed by Mrs. Abby Scott Baker's visit to the state and continuous work from headquarters on national political leaders.

In Indiana Governor Goodrich had always agreed to call a special session, but constant appeals were necessary before he actually issued the call. Miss Vernon visited the state last summer, conferred with local women and interviewed the governor. Unceasing pressure was brought from Washington headquarters upon national Republican leaders to bring Indiana into line.

In Nevada, similar pressure was brought on Democratic leaders, and resolutions secured from practically every organization in the state.

A Plot Thwarted

In New Mexico, after the special session had been called, an attempt was made to prevent ratification and substitute a referendum. The movement was discovered in time to be thwarted. The New Mexico legislature, which is strongly Republican, had seemed absolutely safe until a short time before it convened. The Woman's Party then received warning that a powerful group in Washington, who thought it would not be advantageous to have women voting in the November elections, were concentrating on defeating ratification in New Mexico. A national organizer was at once sent to New Mexico to assist Mrs. Arthur Kellam, the state chairman, and Mrs. Otero Warren, member of the advisory council.

It was soon discovered that many of the men who were pledged to vote for ratification had changed their minds. The Woman's Party at once got in touch with political leaders in Washington and secured a constant succession of telegrams from the Republican national senatorial and congressional committees and other leaders to the Republican leaders in New Mexico urging them to guard against defeat.

Until the day before the vote was taken it seemed as though ratification were lost, but combined pressure finally made the opposition withdraw and votes flocked to the suffrage side.

The special session in Wyoming was due almost entirely to work from the Washington end. Governor Carey absolutely refused to issue the call. A press campaign started from Washington enlisted the newspapers of the state and gave wide publicity to the governor's opposition. He promptly sent a questionnaire to every member of the legislature, asking if he would serve without expense to the state. The Republican congressional committee at once appealed to Republican leaders in Wyoming to support ratification and urge the members to attend. In Wyoming itself Mrs. Lillian H. Kerr, a national organizer, conducted a vigorous campaign for the Woman's Party.

The South Votes "No"

In the southern states of South Carolina, Mississippi, Virginia and Maryland the opposition centered upon the "State rights" issue and the race problem.

In Mississippi practically all the state officials advocated ratification, and both the outgoing governor, Bilbo, and the present governor, Russell, urged it in their messages to the legislature. In contrast, none of the Mississippi delegation in Congress supported the ratification

(*Continued on page* 19)

Wanted—Women's Votes

Children are Waiting for the Votes of Women to Protect Them

In Birth

Twenty-five States in the United States are excluded from the birth registration area because registration is less than 90 per cent complete.

England since 1915 has made notification of birth within 36 hours compulsory, regarding it as indispensable in infant welfarework.

Vital statistics laws should be secured in all States.

Seventeen thousand mothers die in child birth annually in the United States.

Out of 3,000 births studied in rural areas of six States only five mothers had adequate care.

In 1916 more children died from conditions related to the health and care of mothers than from any other cause.

The Sheppard-Towner Maternity Bill now before Congress provides care for mothers and children.

Thirty-two thousand white children are born out of wedlock in the United States yearly.

Thirty per cent of these children die.

Foreign countries have devised legislation greatly reducing this death rate and giving the children a fair chance for a happy life.

In North Dakota and Minnesota we have laws that offer models for such legislation.

In Work

Of 2,000,000 working children between 10 and 16, less than 300,000 are in occupations coming within the scope of the present Federal child-labor law. Seven States at present have laws raising the minimum above 14 years—16 years is the standard set by the Children's Bureau.

Three-fourths of working children are employed on farms.

There are no laws to protect the rural child worker.

In Education

Of 19,696 children receiving work certificates in five States, 5,294 or more than one-fourth were unable to sign their names. Of the whole number certified only 24 were foreign-born.

Legislation can remedy this evil promptly.

In the Courts

Less than one-sixth of the courts trying children's cases, have special organizations for the work. This estimate is based on a study of 2,000 courts.

WOMEN will soon find themselves possessed of a new power.

It is one of the good fortunes of chance that for a period of years before this power came into their hands an agency should have been at work discovering how and where it could best be used. The Federal Children's Bureau, under the direction of Julia Lathrop, has for the seven years of its existence been collecting the most significant and impressive data concerning the welfare of American children, that is to say concerning the future prosperity and happiness of the nation. More and more statesmen are coming to realize that the most direct road to a perfect State is through the child. That to create a country in which children can grow up strong, happy and informed is to eliminate most existing evils. If it is true that children are their great interest, women can prove it by their votes in the next ten years.

But it will not be an easy matter to vote wisely on these matters. How fundamental must be the work and legislation which hopes to protect child life is shown in the diagram on this page. Poverty, if not directly the chief cause is undoubtedly one of the chief indirect causes of the 200,000 deaths of babies annually in the United States; of the fact that four or five million children are undernourished, hungry whether they know it or not; that 2,000,000 between the ages of 10 and 16 have become workers; that over 5,000 in five States had received so little education before they went to work that they could not sign their names legibly.

The inadequacy of our present child-labor law for the protection of children is clearly brought out by the Children's Bureau. The law "providing for an excise tax upon the profits derived from the work of children prohibits only the employment of children under 14 in manufacturing establishments, including canneries, and of children under 16 at any time in mines and quarries and in factories for more than eight hours daily or before 6 o'clock in the morning or after 7 in the evening.

"The number of children affected by the Federal law is small compared with the total number of working children in the United States. Of 2,000,000 working children less than 300,000 are in occupations coming within the scope of the Federal child-labor law. With the Federal law in force, children under 14 in nearly every State will be able to work some time and in some occupation. The Federal law does not set a complete standard, nor one for all children.

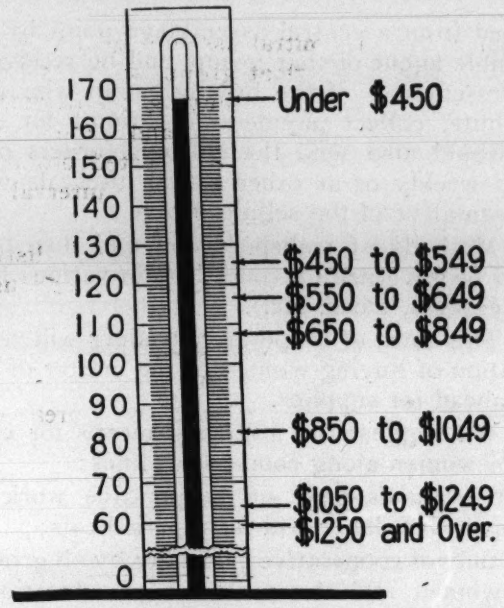
"Child labor, including rural child labor, can be abolished. England has done it, and in the Fisher Education Act of 1918 has provided a substitute for child labor, whether in field or factory, by a liberal educational program which includes compulsory part-time schooling for children up to 18 years of age."

Another problem at present receiving close attention from the Bureau is illegitimacy as it affects child life.

In an effort to determine the principles that may be found practical in American legislation for the protection of children born of unmarried parents the Bureau has

INFANT MORTALITY RATES, ACCORDING TO FATHERS EARNINGS

Combined Figures from Seven Cities



The baby death rate rises as fathers' earnings fall.

Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor

recently held two conferences, one in Chicago on February 9 and 10 and in New York on February 16 and 17.

As a result of these meetings a small joint committee of men and women is to be appointed by Miss Lathrop, to formulate a platform of principles, which it is hoped may supply a guide for work along these lines.

The resolutions adopted at the conferences emphasized the rights of the child, the mother, the father and the state, with the general acknowledgment that the welfare of the child is of paramount concern. The minimum standards arrived at were these:

All births must be registered; the name of the father to appear only after adjudication of paternity or his written consent; records to be confidential;

Proceedings to establish paternity should be instituted by the mother; if she is unwilling and it is deemed desirable for the child, proceedings should be undertaken by public agency. All courts concerned should be ones of socialized experience and equipment;

The father should make financial provision for the care and education of his child in keeping with his economic position.

It is not only in the care of illegitimate children that America is behind other nations, but in the general protection of maternity and infancy. Again the Children's Bureau studies have brought out the fact that we lose thousands of mothers in child birth and hundreds of thousands of babies before they are a year old every year in this country; that our infant mortality is decreasing slightly but that our maternity mortality is not decreasing at all, and that infant deaths from causes connected with the mother's condition and care at confinement are actually increasing. The Bureau's studies prove that necessary care and instruction is not available to great numbers of women, either because of poverty or, in the far reaches of our west and south, because of isolation. In a study of almost 3,000 births made by the Bureau in rural areas of six states only five mothers were found to have had adequate care before their babies were born.

A bill which is endorsed by the Children's Bureau for the protection of maternity and infancy is now before Congress. The bill is known as the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Bill and its provisions are given in the Review of Congress, on another page.

Measures designed for the welfare of children touching their education, their employment, their care in sickness, their rescue from poverty and crime, will be introduced in Congress and become a law as soon as 25,000,000 women voters demand it. **F. B. B.**

New Referendum Cases

A DECISION by the Supreme Court of the United States settling the question of referendum elections on ratification is expected about April first.

Is a referendum legal on a Federal Amendment, is made the issue in four cases now pending before the court, three of which involve the prohibition amendment and one the suffrage amendment. They will all be argued separately about the first of March and a decision will probably come within a few weeks in some one or all of the cases, definitely disposing of the question.

The case brought on the prohibition amendment from California is on appeal from the United States District Court holding a defendant responsible for a violation of the prohibition enforcement laws. The issue of a referendum on the prohibition amendment was raised as a defense, and the United States District Judge held that it was not authorized. The Supreme Courts of Arkansas, Colorado, Oregon and Maine have taken the same position. In the general attack upon the prohibition amendment made by the state of New Jersey, the issue of referendum is also raised.

Both of the Ohio cases (involving the prohibition and suffrage amendments) were brought by an elector and taxpayer in the form of an injunction to prevent the unnecessary expenditure of public funds. As far as the Ohio prohibition case is concerned, the case, so far, has been unsuccessful, inasmuch as the referendum election was held last November; and in view of that fact the Supreme Court of the United States may consider that no question in this case is before it for determination. In the Ohio suffrage case, the Court may also take the view that inasmuch as the suffrage amendment has not yet been ratified and is admittedly not yet a part of the constitution, it cannot take jurisdiction of the case; or that it has not the right to enjoin an election that is provided for by the state constitution and upheld by the state courts, without passing upon the effect that such an election might have on a legislature's ratification.

Every effort is being made to protect the franchise of women in this litigation. Briefs will be filed by attorneys representing the National Woman's Party, as amicus curiae, the case having been instituted by an individual elector of the state of Ohio. The counsel for the Woman's Party are Mr. Shippen Lewis, Mr. William Draper Lewis, former Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and Mr. George Wharton Pepper.

Women and the Cooperative Movement

THE All-American Farmer-Labor Cooperative Congress, recently met at Chicago, passed a resolution calling for "the inclusion of women on equal terms with men in all lines of the work and as far as practicable in equal numbers."

Perhaps they forgot the resolution in the business of committee appointments. Perhaps they interpreted its "as far as practicable" in a conveniently masculine way. Undoubtedly their choice was limited by the fact that many more men than women attended the congress, and that women have rather hesitated to join the cooperative movement in that part of it where their power would be greatest, the buying of their families' food and clothing.

At any rate, no woman's name appears in the commission of 17 men who are to be the permanent executives of the congress. No woman's name appears on the committees on standardization of cooperative methods, on cooperative banking and credits, on direct trading, on the people's press, on cooperative legislation, on cooperative production, the permanent organs of the congress. One woman, Mrs. Agnes Warbasse, is on the committee on cooperative education. Five women are on the committee on women and the cooperative movement.

This scanty recognition of the power of 19,000,000 American housewives who largely control the pocketbooks of that many families will be partly remedied, says Mr. George P. Hampton, managing director of the Farmers' National Council, which, with the big railway brotherhoods, called the conference, by the appointment of women on the commission in the near future.

Resolution to Include Women

Concrete suggestions for the inclusion of women in the cooperative movement were made to the congress by its women's committee, their report being adopted as presented. Its main points are:

1. The cooperative movement cannot be made the big splendid thing we hope for unless women become identified with it to the same extent as men, on the same basis, with equal responsibilities from local to national or international activities. Therefore, we recommend that this congress adopt as its policy the inclusion of women on equal terms with men in all lines of the work and as far as practicable in equal numbers.

2. We recommend, as a concrete way in which women may serve the cooperative movement and a beginning be made in direct training between producer and consumer in localities where cooperative stores do not afford a means of such exchange, community cooperative selling groups of farm women and cooperative buying groups of town or city women organized in conformity with Rochdale principles. Existing organized groups of either may be used. . . .

3. The products of the members of the farm woman group would be inspected, packed and shipped from a central assemblage point by a responsible agent of that group, and be received by a representative of the buying group who would distribute, collect payment and remit for same. She would also send the collected orders of her group weekly or at other stated intervals to the representative of the selling group.

4. Methods of transportation and distribution would be governed by conditions in various localities (express, truck, etc.).

5. This form of cooperative trading will require education of buying-women in the matter of planning ahead for supplies. . . .

6. We suggest the following means for education of women along cooperative lines:

A woman's page on cooperative work in cooperative, labor and farm periodicals;

Study of cooperative principles by all groups of women and the provision of educational literature for women's clubs.

The signers of this report were the members of the committee, Jennie Buell, secretary of the Michigan state grange, chairman; Benigna Green-Kalb, secretary of the farm woman's congress and also of the committee; Lola T. Lunn, of the National Cooperative Association, Sally Wilkins, and Mary E. McDowell, head of the Chicago University settlement.

Unanimous for Suffrage

The congress also adopted a strong resolution appealing to "the legislatures of all states which have not yet ratified the federal suffrage amendment to do so at the earliest possible moment and also appeals to the governors of Connecticut, Vermont, Delaware, Oklahoma, Washington and West Virginia to call immediate sessions of their legislatures to ratify the amendment."

The men of the conference conceded the importance of the part which women can play, if they wish, in the development of the cooperative movement, especially from the consumer's end. Women will be interested in the progress of cooperation in the United States, including the development of cooperative banks or credit unions which are planned by the Congress as they are interested in all new tendencies in economic and political fields.

Reports from England show that women have already assumed a position of importance in the highly developed cooperative movement there. Mrs. Eleanor Barton, a delegate to the Women's Trade Union League's annual convention, stated that the Women's Coperative Guild of England now numbers 30,000 members, all of them "women in the homes." Their importance is recognized by the government and by all classes of the people, and they have managed cooperative wholesale societies, factories and banks, as well as buying and selling groups.

Eleanor Taylor.

Victories and Defeats

(*Continued from page* 15)

and several of these wielded great influence in the state.

One question which played an important part in the Mississippi campaign was whether or not the electoral qualification of the state constitution would automatically apply to women. The Woman's Party secured from the highest constitutional authorities opinions that the qualifications would apply to women which were quoted by the governor in his message to the legislature.

Mrs. Anne Calvert Neely of Vicksburg became state chairman and her committee interviewed political leaders, securing the active cooperation of the retiring governor, the governor-elect, the lieutenant-governor, both attorney generals, ex-Senator Vardman and many others.

When the legislature met on January 6, the poll already taken by letter was followed by personal interviews with each legislator. This poll showed an overwhelming majority against, which no official support altered.

Before the legislature convened in South Carolina, the political leaders in the state were interviewed by Mrs. Wm. Vaughan, state chairman, and Miss Anita Pollitzer, national organizer. The support of the chairman of the State Democratic committee was secured, and one of the strongest members of the legislature consented to sponsor the ratification resolution. When the legislature convened, Mrs. Vaughan and Miss Psyche Webster, state treasurer, attended the sessions and made another poll of the members, but were not able to overcome the opposition in the legislature.

The campaign in Virginia was begun at the special session last summer, and continued by Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, state chairman, and Mrs. Dexter Otey, congressional district chairman, when the new legislature met in January. Senator Mapp, one of the most influential men in the Senate, agreed to lead the fight there and Mr. Willis, the floor leader, in the House. During the campaign Carter Glass, always before an opponent of the amendment, in response to pressure from Democratic leaders, wrote Senator Mapp urging ratification.

Maryland's failure to ratify should not be held at the door of the south, but to the opposition of United States Senator Smith, supported by Governor Ritchie, who refused to render any assistance. Since Senator Smith, who has consistently opposed suffrage, is expected to be a candidate for re-election in November, it was undoubtedly thought best to delay the amendment so that women could not register in time to vote. A corps of Woman's Party organizers worked in Maryland from last June to the day of the vote, and a strong organization of Maryland women under the state chairman, Mrs. Donald Hooker, labored to break down the opposition. Headquarters opened in Annapolis were in charge of Mrs. Charles Ogle, legislative chairman, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis directed the work of a large force of lobbyists. Constant mass meetings were held throughout the state and hundreds of women took part in a demonstration on the day of the vote. After the defeat suffragists, led by Mrs. Hooker, marched around the capitol to the music of a band to show that whatever the action of the legislature had injured, it was not the women. Their cause could triumph without the south if necessary.

Sue S. White.

The Suffrage Score

(*Continued from page* 5)

States," if the governor calls a special session, is expected to go far in breaking down the governor's opposition.

The amendment may possibly be ratified within a few weeks; it depends entirely on the sincerity of the Republican support. On the other hand, difficulties, such as those in New Jersey and New Mexico, may suddenly develop and cause long delay, or when all else is completed Ohio may be crossed off the list of 36 by the Supreme Court decision.

Which two of the four states that have the opportunity will at the last minute creep into the honor column it is hard to guess. To the women it is a matter of little importance, but from the point of view of the individual states it is a matter which will go down for or against them in the history of democracy.

Bills Before Congress

(*Continued from page* 14)

proportionately among the states. This sum is to be spent according to these specifications:

a. $7,500,000 for the removal of illiteracy.
b. $7,500,000 for Americanization work.
c. $50,000,000 in partial payment of teachers' salaries and for the promotion of public education, especially in rural districts.
d. $20,000,000 for the promotion of physical education, including health and sanitation.
e. $15,000,000 for the training of teachers.

3. All educational work under this act is to be organized, supervised and administered exclusively by state and local authorities.

4. No sex qualifications are placed upon the appointment of the proposed Secretary of Education by the act.

Health

Of the numerous health bills probably the most important is that introduced by Senator France creating a national department of health. Women physicians and women's organizations have protested against the provisions of this bill which limit the positions of secretary and first and second assistant secretaries to men, allowing only the third assistant secretary to be a woman.

Rank for Nurses

The army reorganization bill, which is engaging the time and attention of the military affairs committees, contains in its Senate form a clause of interest to women in the provision granting relative military rank to army nurses. Efforts are being made to include a similar clause in the House bill.

(*Continued from page* 11)

Such laws fail to distinguish between conditions of labor that are hazardous to life, limb or health regardless of the sex of the worker, and conditions that are hazardous to women because of a woman's physical organization. These laws prohibit a woman from working on a buffing, polishing or grinding machine, for example, not because the operation of the machines required an exertion of muscular strength that tends to do permanent injury to a woman though not to a man; but because the flying particles of metallic dust, when the machines are not properly guarded, do injury to the lungs and other respiratory organs. Practically all large metal manufacturing states require adequate guards on such machines, yet women are forbidden in some states from operating them. These are skill-exacting machines and the operators are regarded as high-paid workers.

On the other hand physicians have declared that the operation of heavy foot treadle ironing machines used in steam laundries carries a hazard to the health, especially of young women. Yet nowhere is the operation of these ironing machines by women under the ban of the law; nowhere are there stipulations as to the ages or state of health of women who may be assigned to these machines. In very few states are there effective regulations calling for such an adjustment of these machines as to reduce the physical strain involved in their operation. Nor are women prevented from operating the "mangle" which, when not properly guarded, is a murderous machine. Instead the state laws require such machines to be guarded, for laundrying is a "woman's industry." The operation of the mangles requires little skill and commands but an indifferent wage. The women operators are not in competition with men.

Other laws read that the employment of women is prohibited in certain occupations unless specified conditions of labor prevail. It happens that in these occupations women are in competition with men. The restrictions placed upon the employment of women only serve to bar them out of the occupation in many places, whereas restrictions placed on the employment of persons of either sex would do away with the conditions prejudicial to health.

Where Men Decide

Again the laws which regulate the weights which women workers can lift while performing an occupation vary by sixty pounds. In no state does it appear that the limit was fixed as a result of intelligent study. In the case of women core makers the limits were determined, and later enacted into law in two states, by three men—one employer, one member of the labor committee of the state legislature, and one man representing a labor union which barred women from membership and fined its members for teaching a woman any part of the trade. No woman core maker nor any other woman was present or had anything to say about the matter.

The law in New York State permits the employment of women by street railways and stipulates nine continuous hours of service—except for the lunch hour. No law compels restaurant proprietors to employ women only for continuous periods. The stipulation handicaps women in competition with men for work on street railways. If it is necessary to protect the health or morals of women in one case, is it not necessary in the other?

On the whole, the accumulated inconsistencies in state laws affecting woman's labor has shaken faith in the soundness of such legislation; the larger field of activity opened to women as a result of the war has brought into consciousness the restrictive qualities of some of this legislation and has set up an irritation against the entire body of such laws; and finally the willingness of organized labor to impose restrictions on women workers who are without representation has engendered a distrust of the motives of this activity.

Riots of Legislative Inconsistencies

One cannot consider this subject without facing squarely the question as to just what is the basis for determining the degree of protection essential to the health of the adult woman worker without unnecessarily curtailing her choice of employment or needlessly handicapping her in competition for advancement. The various state laws regulating conditions of women's labor give one an uncomfortable feeling that state's rights have resulted in state riots of legislative inconsistencies so far as the woman wage-earner is concerned.

Beyond the established principles of general factory sanitation there is apparent in such laws a lack of uniform standards of industrial hygiene and occupational demands in their relation to either the man or the woman worker. Consequently there has been no grouping of occupations into those which, when not properly safeguarded are hazardous to either men or women, and those which carry a special preventable or unpreventable hazard to women. Obviously until such a grouping of occupations is made we shall continue to have laws that restrict the employment of women where it would have been easily possible to restrict the conditions that jeopardize the health of men and women alike; we shall continue to have laws that prohibit entirely when the restriction need not have gone farther than a regulation to prevent any special hazard to women.

So long as we do not develop a basis for such legislation by a carefully collected and intelligently collated body of pertinent facts we shall continue to meet with needless conflicts between the right to work and the need of protection, and so long as we have such conflicts the principle of labor legislation affecting adult women will continue to be under attack and will often be put in jeopardy. Of course, such enactments as are proved to be necessary must always be by state legislature, but an agency such as the United States Women in Industry Service, if equipped with adequate resources, could collect the body of data and in co-operation with the national Health Service develop standards which would exert such a shaping and directing influence in legislation designed to protect the health of the adult woman as to eliminate needless infringments upon her opportunities for earning a livelihood.

Marie L. Obenauer.

"Let the Women Vote"

Signed—Johnson, Palmer, Poindexter, Gerard, Harding, Lowden, Owen, McAdoo, Bryan, Wood

25,000,000—*Number women of voting age in U. S.*
17,000,000—*Number who can already vote for President.*
7,000,000—*Number who can already vote for Congress.*

EVERY man who will admit that he is a presidential candidate at all admits also that he would like to have the women voting in 1920—and two of them hope the women will play their due part in the spring primaries.

Not Candidates

General Pershing and Mr. Hoover alike insist that they are not candidates. They have, however, both announced their support of suffrage on other occasions. Governor Coolidge, who actively supported the ratification of the amendment in his own state, will issue no statements at this time on the plea that he is "doing his best to attend to his duties here in Massachusetts."

Senator Lodge, though he states he is "not a presidential candidate under any possible circumstances" sets forth his suffrage position in this way.

> "I voted in accordance with my convictions in the Senate upon woman suffrage and that ended my responsibility in regard to the case. Believing, as I do, that the question is one which the states ought to decide, I meddled in no way in my own state and I do not mean to meddle in others."

For Votes "and Conscience" Sake

The strong contrast in the reasons which lead presidential candidates to urge prompt ratification, may be taken to indicate their complete sincerity from all points of view. "Justice and political expediency" both demand immediate enfranchisement, says one. "The Democratic Party needs the votes and democracy needs the conscience of women," says another. While a third prophesies the inauguration of "a new era in the politics of the Republic" if universal suffrage is a fact in the next elections.

And all this comes but four years after that other era in the politics of the Republic when the candidate of one party refused to support so much as the submission of the amendment to the states and the candidate of the other party, having declared that he supported it, rarely mentioned the subject again.

Johnson, McAdoo and Wood

Senator Johnson of California, candidate on the Republican side, urges ratification on these grounds:

> "There have never been graver questions, political and economic, before the American public than there are this year. Women are as deeply concerned in these problems as are men and as fully entitled to a voice in their solution. Justice as well as political expediency would dictate the immediate ratification of the suffrage amendment by thirty-six states and the placing of the ballot in the hands of the women of our country."

W. G. McAdoo, candidate for the other party nomination, believes that—"the forthcoming election is pregnant with grave consequences to America and the world," and that "since women are as vitally concerned as men they should be permitted to have a voice in that election and assume their part of the responsibility of determining America's future."

General Wood puts enthusiasm into a mere telegram on the subject.

"I heartily indorse prompt ratification of suffrage amendment and hope it will be ratified in time for you to vote in spring primaries."

Poindexter and Harding

Senator Poindexter of Washington, another Western Republican, thinks it "of the greatest importance that the suffrage amendment should be ratified in time to enable women to vote in every state in the Presidential elections of 1920," and though his own state is one of the backward ones, so far, he hopes that "wherever necessary to accomplish this purpose extra sessions of legislatures may be called."

Senator Harding of Ohio, also Republican, says:

> "We are starting a new era in the world, and we shall certainly inaugurate a new era in the politics of the republic if we have universal suffrage in all the states in the next election. . . . The country is now thoroughly committed to this grant of the franchise to women, and we shall all be the more deeply interested and the more encouraged if the completion of the processes of amendment to the constitution can be effected early this year."

Lowden and Gerard

Governor Lowden of Illinois, Republican, points with due pride to the past suffrage record of himself and of his state, and puts his desire for immediate ratification on the grounds that—

> "The wonderfully effective work which the women's organizations did during the war certainly entitles them to equal suffrage with men. We need their advice, cooperation and assistance in the great work of reconstruction that must be done if this republic is to endure."

Former Ambassador James W. Gerard shares the belief that "No more important question is before the public than the speedy ratification of the federal suffrage amendment." Further than that he thinks that "women should be enabled

to take part not only in the election but in the primaries of 1920."

William Jennings Bryan sums up his strong endorsement of quick ratification, to give women a voice in the nominations as well as in the elections by giving two reasons for his stand;

> "First, in order that the Democratic party may be able to make a successful appeal to women voters, and second, because we need the conscience of women to aid the moral causes to which Democracy is pledged."

Attorney-General Palmer's significant statement has been widely quoted—

> "In view of the present movement of unrest in this country with which as Attorney General I have come in close contract, I feel that it is highly important that every possible influence be used to stabilize our institutions and prevent unrest. I am convinced that the immediate extension of suffrage to our women will be a most important force in this direction."

Senator Owen of Oklahoma, Democrat, points to his own record on behalf of ratification as evidence of his position:

> "The Governor of Oklahoma, in response to my request, has agreed to call a special session of the Oklahoma Legislature. The Legislature will undoubtedly ratify the National Woman Suffrage Amendment. I desire Oklahoma to put its moral influence on the right side of this democratic measure. I led the fight for Woman Suffrage in Oklahoma in 1907, believing it would promote good government."

If anything like all the women of the country are to have a voice in deciding between which two of these pro-ratification candidates the final choice is to lie, the amendment must be ratified within the month. Already it is too late for the women of New Hampshire to register for the primaries.

Books and the Woman

Department Conducted By Alice Henry

THERE are a number of recent publications which deal with the woman wage-earner. And this is not strange, considering the part she is playing in the industrial life of all lands. Her ability is being used, and her energy has been released in the service of the community as never before. And this coincides with the dramatic moment at which, in one country after another, her political shackles are falling off.

But also, and this rather gives us pause, and material for very careful and fundamental thinking, there are innumerable publications coming out and forthcoming which deal with the great changes taking place in industry, with their world-shaking developments, which pass over the woman wage-earner as a quite unimportant factor in industrial life, or national production. And yet all such changes, whether actual or only proposed, affect directly and intimately the life and status of every woman who works for payment, and indirectly and almost as intimately the lives and the status of most other women. In many of these latter books, reports and articles there is a tendency all too marked, either flatly to ignore the self-supporting woman, or else to lay down with academic precision just what women are expected and intended to do, just where they are to fit into the plans of industry. This tendency is noticeable alike in the writings of employers, of university professors and of labor advocates.

With these two thoughts in mind, the attention being accorded to women in industry, and the attention not being accorded, let us see what the writers say.

To American women, nothing more significant has appeared for a long while, than the **First Annual Report of the Women in Industry Service of the Department of Labor.*** The existence of the division at all in the Department of Labor stands out as the result of the persistent, but for so many years unsuccessful efforts of the women of the country, and especially of their skill and resourcefulness in utilizing the opportunity afforded through the abnormal conditions brought about by the war. Under the emergency of war production, the fact of women's existence as a part of the war machine was, as it were, officially admitted. The singular success that attended the administration of Mary Van Kleeck and her assistant director, Mary Anderson, herself a working woman out of the shop, working as they did with a wholly insufficient equipment, made a dent on the public mind. So that when some of our legislators assumed blandly enough that the Women in Industry Service would of course be scrapped with the rest of the temporary emergency machinery, loud protest arose, and the Service was continued, although as before with inadequate funds, and based on no organic act ensuring its permanency, as an essential attachment to an industrial army, even under restored normal conditions, of ten millions of women. Still, its term of life was extended, and this report is the story of its first year's activities. What comes closest to our attention is what was done after the armistice was signed. Miss Van Kleeck's very first act was characteristic enough. On November 11th, while the sirens were still shrieking, and every one else was experiencing more or less the effect of a general let-up and let-go, the young director was submitting to the chairman of the War Policies Board a plan (to be sure, all ready prepared beforehand) to enable working women to hold on to the more orderly and just arrangements that the Service had been able to secure, and also to see that during the period of demobilization women's just rights to consideration should not be overlooked. From then on the co-operation between State and Federal Departments of Labor, for which experience during the war had formed a precedent, was continued. The more poorly paid workers were, the more disheartening their surroundings, the more handicapped by sex or by color, the bigger they loomed in the eyes of this woman and her assistants.

The report, among the rest, is a reminder that the "Woman's Bureau," as is now its title, should receive a permanent standing, and this is a job for Congress. Let women see that this fact is brought home to our legislators.

In **"The Intellectuals and the Wage Workers,"†** Profes-

*First Annual Report of the Women in Industry Service of the Department of Labor. Washington, D. C., 1919.

sor Cory, a college man, and the friend and co-worker of the late Carleton Parker, has written an extremely stimulating book. The original impulses to a new philosophy which shall really interpret life have their rise, Dr. Cory thinks, among the workers, the writer and teacher by profession only co-ordinating those ideas and putting them into form. It is encouraging to know that some measure of co-operation between trade unions and university teachers is now being worked out practically in the trade union classes and labor colleges of several cities. In this connection we may note the fact, not mentioned by Dr. Cory, that it was the National Women's Trade Union League which was among the earliest groups to take effective action. It is still the only organization in the United States within which both trade unionists and those who endorse trade unionism can meet as fellow members and co-workers.

Distinctly the most constructive contribution to British thought on labor questions has come through the national guilds movement, sometimes called guild socialism, and hardly a month passes without some book on the subject; the latest, **"Labour and the Commonwealth,"** by G. H. D. Cole, an untiring as well as a delightful writer. The Monthly Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of our own Department of Labor at Washington for last July contained what was both a history and a description under the title, "The National Guilds Movement," also from Mr. Cole's pen. It was Arthur J. Penty, a young London architect—they are all young, by the way—who conceived the idea that the old guilds of the Middle Ages had something for us, if we would only break away from the yoke of forced and distasteful and often futile labor under which we either groan and fret or else sink into a deadly apathy. Hard on Mr. Penty's heels followed Mr. A. H. Orage and Mr. S. G. Hobson, who hit on the ingenious idea that trade unions might be converted into something as useful, as responsible and as responsive to modern demands as the old guilds had been to society in their age.

The way out from our present chaos, as these leaders see it, is to be an altogether new kind of co-operation, the co-operation of producer and consumer. Hitherto co-operation has been thought of as a producer's affair, or as a consumer's affair, the two not linked together, but at loose ends with one another. Or else it has been co-partnership, the co-operation of employer and employe, this last carrying with it the dangerous possibility of the public being skinned, by a too harmonious arrangement between employer and employe to divide the profits or the spoils. Equally to be dreaded by the community would be a perfect trade union movement, both owning industry and running it.

The national guilds movement, summed up, is for the smooth conversion of our entire commercial system from a profit-making concern into a system of production for service. It has played its part, and will have to go, and the community will have to take over, one by one, the great basic industries.

Such thinking as is embodied in these writings of guildsmen and their American congeners is far too clever, cogent and to the point in our restless, dissatisfied society not to affect profoundly the course of events during the next few years. So that it behooves women both to study what is happening and to say to themselves, "Where do we come in?"

Not as far in as I should like to see. The home-making woman and the mother no one says much about, and she surely is an important member of the "community." Some thinkers, such as Mr. Cole himself, assume equality of training, opportunity and recompense for service at least for the woman who works for remuneration. And I am sure in Arthur Penty's world women would at any rate have far more time to breathe and freedom to choose their own occupations and express their very own selves than in the tightly fitting box we call modern civilization.

But all advocates of the guild movement do not go so far as these men. Others lay down in the most dictatorial manner just where and how women shall be permitted, permitted forsooth, by men, to take part in industry, in any work of hand or brain. And these are men who are advocating democracy and democratic representation in the everyday affairs of the shop, the store and the railroad.

This is one reason, were there no other, why women must be up and doing, reading the latest literature, and ever watchful lest changes in our social structure be not suffered to creep in which ignore the interests of women. This has happened before now. And men's tendencies to lay down the law, and women's tendencies, alas, to accept masculine rulings as laid down, are not all at once to be waived out of existence, even by the magic wand of a granted citizenship.

†The Intellectuals and the Wage Workers. Herbert Ellsworth Cory. The Sunwise Turn. New York, 1919.

‡National Guilds—An Inquiry Into the Wage System and the Way Out. An End to the Wage System. S. G. Hobson and A. H. Orage. Third Edition, 1919. George Bell and Sons. London. Macmillan. New York.

Old Worlds for New. Arthur J. Penty. George Allen and Unwin. London. The Sunwise Turn. New York.

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The Meaning of Industrial Freedom. G. H. D. Cole and W. Mellor. The Herald. London.

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Labour in the Commonwealth. G. H. D. Cole. B. W. Huebsch. New York, 1919.

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History of the Amendment

In Congress

Drafted
By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.

February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by 1 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by 1 vote over necessary two-thirds majority.

May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

Ratification to Date

States Which Have Ratified

(Those starred ratified at Special Sessions).

		Gov.	Legis.		VOTE Senate	House
1	Wisconsin	R	R	June 10	24–1	54–2
2	*Michigan	R	R	June 10	Unan.	Unan.
3	*Kansas	R	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
4	*Ohio	D	R	June 16	27–3	73–6
5	*New York	D	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
6	Illinois	R	R	June 17	Unan.	133–4
7	Pennsylvania	R	R	June 24	32–6	153–44
8	Massachusetts	R	R	June 25	34–5	184–77
9	*Texas	D	D	June 29	Unan.	96–21
10	*Iowa	R	R	July 2	Unan.	95–5
11	*Missouri	D	Div.'d.	July 3	28–3	125–4
12	*Arkansas	D	D	July 20	20–2	76–17
13	*Montana	D	R	July 30	38–1	Unan.
14	*Nebraska	R	R	Aug. 2	Unan.	Unan.
15	*Minnesota	R	R	Sept. 8	60–5	120–6
16	*New Hampshire	R	R	Sept. 10	14–10	212–143
17	*Utah	D	D	Sept. 30	Unan.	Unan.
18	*California	R	R	Nov. 1	Unan.	73–2
19	*Maine	R	R	Nov. 5	24–5	72–68
20	*North Dakota	R	R	Dec. 1	38–4	103–6
21	*South Dakota	R	R	Dec. 4	Unan.	Unan.
22	*Colorado	R	R	Dec. 12	Unan.	Unan.
23	Rhode Island	R	R	Jan. 6	37–1	89–3
24	Kentucky	R	Div'd.	Jan. 6	30–8	72–25
25	*Oregon	R	R	Jan. 12	Unan.	Unan.
26	*Indiana	R	R	Jan. 16	43–3	Unan.
27	*Wyoming	R	R	Jan. 27	Unan.	Unan.
28	*Nevada	D	Div'd.	Feb. 7	Unan.	Unan.
29	New Jersey	D	R	Feb. 10	18–2	34–24
30	*Idaho	R	R	Feb. 11	29–6	Unan.
31	*Arizona	R	D	Feb. 12	Unan.	Unan.
32	*New Mexico	R	R	Feb. 19	17–5	36–10
33	*Oklahoma	D	D	Feb. 27		

Special Sessions Called

West Virginia	D	R	Feb. 28

States Which Have Defeated

		Gov.	Legis.		VOTE Senate	House
1	Alabama	D	D	Sept. 2	18–13	No vote
2	Georgia	D	D	July 24	39–8	118–20
3	Mississippi	D	D	Jan. 21	31–16	106–25
4	South Carolina	D	D	Jan. 24	No vote	93–21
5	Virginia	D	D	Feb. 12	24–10	62–22
6	Maryland	D	D	Feb. 17	18–9	64–36

States Which Have Not Acted

Legislatures counted on to ratify if called in special session. No regular session before 1921.

		Gov.	Legis.	
1	Connecticut	R	R	Gov. Anti-Suffragist.
2	Delaware	R	R	Gov. fears other legislation.
3	Vermont	R	R	Gov. Anti-Suffragist.
4	Washington	R	R	Gov. fears other legislation.

States which cannot take action this year because of Constitutional Provision requiring election to intervene between submission of and action on an amendment.

		Gov.	Legis.	
1	Florida	D	D	Majority of legislature asked Congress to pass amendment.
2	Tennessee	D	D	Presidential Suffrage State.

State in which Legislatures do not show majority warranting demand for special session.

		Gov.	Legis.	
1	Louisiana	D	D	Regular Sessions in May, 1920.
2	North Carolina	D	D	